1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

756 463 776 makes himself readily available and is willing to perform. This is surely one reason for Er Shih Kung's growing popularity. This man, about thirty-four years of age, owns the village general store, does a little farming, and is the head of the Farmers' Association's village unit. In addition to these undertakings, he also takes an active part in all village events such as the coordination of village funeral arrangements.

756 554 621 The third *t'iao t'ung* for the less important village private god, Chu Wang Yeh, now has a vegetable stand in Taipei. His family still resides in the village, and he travels back and forth between the village and the city. However, he usually is not available in the village when his services are needed. On occasion, other Hsin Hsing villagers living in Taipei call upon him to help them communicate with the god.

It appears, then, that the two most active shamans in the village are the young *fa shih* and the *t'iao t'ung* for Er Shih Kung. These men apparently enjoy the popularity and increased contact with the villagers which their work affords them. At the same time, they undoubtedly recognize that their position in the community is enhanced each time they perform "a public service."

756 Any village man may become a *fa shih* if he is willing to devote time and energy to the intensive training involved in this undertaking. Master *fa shih* in Lukang or elsewhere are available as instructors. Under the tutelage of such a master, the novice learns how to conduct magical rituals and use potent charms and instruments of coercion with which he is able to exorcise malevolent demons or other spirits. 756 787 In addition, the novice is taught the "special language of the gods," which enables him to communicate with them through the medium of a *t'iao t'ung*.

The latter has the ability to go into a trance and become possessed by a particular local god who, when he enters the body of the *t'iao t'ung*, speaks to the people in his own tongue. Only the *fa shih* can interpret this special language. Supposedly the *t'iao t'ung* does not understand it, and, like Western mediums, he claims he is unaware of what has taken place while he was in the trance.

756 [776] The *t'iao t'ung* in the service of a local god is "chosen by that god" to serve him much as the god chooses his pot master. However, in this case, the candidates include only men who are interested in serving the god and the village, rather than representatives from all the village families. The prospective *t'iao t'ung* receives his training from, and is taught the god's language by, a master *fa shih* from Lukang. The training is conducted in complete secrecy and lasts for seven days.

Once the training is completed and the shaman is considered able to cope with the supernatural, he can be called upon to perform magical rituals when an illness strikes, particularly one which cannot be ex-

of the five lún, while the Shang Ti Kung stands for the unity of all of Chichou.

The fifteen minute walk from the train station in Hsulin to the village of Hsiachichou takes one through the main business street of the market town. Here under the arcades which edge the street are a variety of small stores and shops which cater to the material and spiritual needs of the surrounding villages. There is a small shop selling ice and a variety of cold drinks, a western style drug store advertising everything from aspirin to penicillin, next door to this a traditional Chinese drug store famous for its cures for consumption, the tiny office of a local doctor trained in Japan, a dry goods store specializing in ready made western clothing, a tailor who scorns western clothing, a coffin shop sweet with the cool smell of camphor, a small two story hotel which also functions as a brothel, several food stores pungent with the odors of garlic and salted cabbage, a photography shop displaying pictures of Japanese and American movie stars, a pool hall where young village men come to play billiards at night, a variety store selling mostly children's copybooks and writing materials, a dusty mill full of sacks of grain, two family shops making noodles for local restaurants, a fortune teller's stall run by a man disabled in the Second World War, a three or four room hospital which serves as a prison for the violently insane, and at the end of the street a Tu Ti Kung Temple supported by the local businessmen and their families. To know this street is to know a great deal about the life of the local population.

In 1895 when the island was ceded to Japan the village of Hsiachichou was almost exclusively an agricultural community. Of the thirty or forty families living in the village at that time there were apparently only five who did not derive all of their income from agriculture, these being the village storekeeper, a highly successful shaman whose services were in demand for miles around, and three families who made their livings as boatmen on the Tamsui. If a villager of that day did not want to work as a farmer, or if he did not inherit enough farm land to make his living this way, there was no choice for him but to leave the community to find a livelihood elsewhere. There was no industry in the area which could give him employment, and Taipei was too far away for a person to live in Hsiachichou and work in the city.

In the course of the next thirty to forty years changes took place which drastically altered this situation, the precipitating factor being the construction of the Taipei-Hsinchu railroad in 1923. The railroad itself created a number of jobs for coolies and clerks in the Hsulin station, and made it possible for a few men to live in the village and work in Taipei. More important in terms of its eventual effect upon village life, the construction of the railroad stimulated the development of local industry in Hsulin, Panchiao, and other neighboring market towns. In the 1920's and 1930's Japanese development companies opened large scale coal mines in the foothills to the west and east of Hsulin; in the early 1920's a winery was built in Hsulin which by 1930 had grown to be the largest winery on the island; the winery stimulated development of several smaller industries

The result of these three concomitant changes has been that Hsiachichou has more and more turned away from agriculture as the basis of its economy. By 1960 when most of the data for the present study were collected only 27 of the 72 families then living in the village obtained a substantial portion of their income from agriculture, and of these 27 families only 4 were entirely dependent upon farming or animal husbandry for their livelihood. The occupations of the villagers were by then so diverse as to make a simple descriptive classification impossible. Those 23 families supplementing a farm income with some other source of income included two families who owned a small dry goods store in Taipei; one family in which the head of the household worked part time as a cook while his son-in-law was employed as a coal miner; a family in which the head of the household was employed as a car inspector for the railroad and his daughter as a bank cashier; one family in which the wife did most of the farming so that her husband could hold a job as janitor in a middle school; three families in which the head of the household farmed while his sons worked as coal miners or in the Hsulin winery; one case in which an elderly farmer was supported primarily by the earnings of a daughter who worked as a prostitute; one family whose head worked in the mornings as a butcher and farmed in the afternoon; and one in which the head of the family managed a small factory while his older brother's son farmed the family's land. In the case of those 46 families who depended entirely upon something other than agriculture the occupations followed were even more diverse. They included a family whose sole income was gambling receipts; three families

178 in which the head of the household earned a meager living as a cart
463 puller; two families who were supported by one or more sons employed as
621 pedicab drivers; two families who owned and operated fish stalls in the Hsulin market; one family in which the husband and wife earned a living by peddling rice cakes; two families whose income consisted primarily of the earnings of teenage boys who worked shining shoes in the Taipei station; one family the head of which was employed making tatami for the railroad while his sons worked as carpenters; one family supported primarily by the earnings of a goldsmith; three families in which all of the adult males were employed as coal miners; one family in which a father and his three sons made a living manufacturing noodles; and at least five cases in which the family was almost entirely dependent upon the earnings of daughters working as prostitutes.

121 We will thus be looking at the village of Hsiachichou during a
178 period of considerable change in its economy. What was a traditional
433 Chinese agricultural community at the beginning of the period with which we will be concerned, was primarily a wage earning community by 1960. As we shall see later, these developments in the economy have had substantial effects upon the traditional institutions, but by 1960 at least they had not yet destroyed these institutions. The changes which had taken place by then were more a matter of degree than a matter of kind. It is by degrees that institutions die, however, and not too many years will have passed before the institutional structure itself will have given way. By 1960 even the long cherished ideal of the extended
121 family was beginning to show signs of weakening. Of the six houses
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family's giving serious consideration to many socially acceptable alternatives.

The most obvious reason for this concern with social continuity and the reason which is most easily stated by the villagers themselves, is economic security. The village of Hsiachichou is not impoverished, but neither is it affluent. The line between the rich and the poor separates those who eat rice at a meal and those who must mix their rice with sweet potato. As the villagers themselves would put it, "Everyone here has something to eat, but no one can afford to eat out of the middle of the pan." With the exception of those families who have the advantages of neither land nor education, and who are as a result forced to earn a living as coolies or coal miners, the people of Hsiachichou are able to support themselves fairly comfortably. The majority of village houses are constructed of brick with sturdy tile roofs; many village families own a radio or phonograph; a number of families have their own water supply in the house and one has installed an electric pump; and all but the very poorest of village families own at least one bicycle, adequate if not comfortable furniture, and are able to meet their social obligations with appropriate gifts and invitations. What the average family in Hsiachichou does not have is the financial ability to accumulate savings. Their income is adequate to feed, clothe, and house themselves in a reasonably comfortable manner, but there is no surplus out of which a family can create a reserve. When faced with a major expenditure occasioned by a serious illness, a marriage, the funeral of a senior member, or the need to

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 7

DECISIONS BY GRANDPARENTS

When a child is born in Hsiachichou his natal family has the choice of raising him as a member of the household, or giving him in one or another of the various forms of adoption. How often do people in Hsiachichou choose to give away their children? How often do they relinquish their male children, and how often do they part with their female children? When they choose to give away a male child, do they usually give him in adoption to an agnate or sell him to a stranger or a dealer? Are female children usually married out of the family as "little daughters-in-law," or are they more commonly sold to families which want a daughter? Are some children more likely to be given out in adoption than others? If so, what are some of the considerations which increase a child's chance of adoption? As a result of changes which have taken place in Hsiachichou during the course of the past several decades, the answers to these questions depend in large part on whether we are looking at decisions made early in the century or those made more recently. We will therefore begin by considering those decisions made in the years before 1930, and will leave until the following chapter those decisions made after 1930.

Before 1930 the village of Hsiachichou was a poor if not an impoverished community. Although most of the villagers earned their living as farmers, no family owned more than one acre of land, and most

198 511 463 [427] less than half an acre. Many were tenant farmers who owned no land at all, cultivating the fields of wealthy landlords in return for some percentage of the annual yield of the land. Until the relocation of the Taipei Hsinchu railroad in 1923, a few landless families made a living transporting local goods down the Tamsui River to markets in Wanhua, Hsinchuang, and Taipei. The only opportunities for industrial employment were in the coal mines of Tucheng and Hsinchuang, and the work there was often sporadic and always poorly paid. The generally low standard of living in Hsiachichou was reflected in the construction of village homes. Although kiln brick and tile had been inexpensively produced in the Taipei region for at least a hundred years, there was no one in Hsiachichou who could afford to build a brick house or to roof his house with tile. Houses were built instead of wattled mud and roofed with thatch. It was not until the early 1920's that the first brick and tile house was constructed in Hsiachichou, and the use of these materials did not become common until the end of the next decade. Of the 47 houses in Hsiachichou in 1935 only 15 boasted a tile roof, and of these only 4 had more than one brick wall. As the older villagers so often put it in describing their former condition, "We were the kind of people who had to sell our rice and eat sweet potatoes."

[464] [346] 198 511 342 333

Living so close to poverty and yet aware of the luxuries enjoyed by their landlords and the wealthier merchants, many families in Hsiachichou must have been tempted to sell one of their male children as a biēng-liēng-kià:. There was always a ready market for male children on Taiwan, and the price they commanded was for most village families

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ultimate goals and overall responsibilities. The result was that most female children were given out in adoption despite the fact that this committed them to an unhappy life. Whatever fears a child's parents may have had about her fate as an adopted daughter could not save her because they were not the decision makers, and even if they had been it is doubtful that they could have done other than give the child away. Most families were so constrained by their limited means and their goals that there was little room for concern about the child's personal welfare.

In the years since 1930 this situation has changed considerably. For one thing, the poverty which forced many families to give away their female children as a means of conserving their resources has been greatly alleviated. Most of the villagers of forty and fifty years ago earned a living as tenant farmers, but the post-war population of the village has included a number of skilled workers, several families with fairly large land holdings, several school teachers and petty officials, and a dozen or more families who own small and fairly prosperous businesses. Even those who still earn a living on small land holdings and as laborers are now earning more and living somewhat more comfortably than did their fathers and grandfathers. The general improvement in conditions in Hsiachichou is apparent in an improved diet, the widespread use of bicycles and radios, and most strikingly in the construction of village houses. The thatch roofs and wattled walls of the early decades of the century have been almost entirely replaced by tile and kiln brick. Of 49 houses in Hsiachichou

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

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In the other case the husband was a younger man who was variously employed as a coal miner and coolie. Unfortunately, his work was sporadic, and he was also an addicted gambler. According to his wife's parents, "He spent all his money gambling and buying presents for his girlfriends." This was certainly not literally true, nor is it unusual for village men to spend a great deal of money gambling, but the wife's parents thought it sufficient excuse to be rid of the [851] men. A few years after the woman's younger brother married, the family simply locked her husband out of the house, and with the support of their relatives resisted his efforts to recover even the one child who had taken his surname. He offered the family NT$3000 to let him take his wife and children with him, but the family refused to even consider [403] the offer. Although we are not at all certain of this, it was rumored in the village that the wife was living with another man for whom she was ostensibly working as a cook. The interpretation of several of the family's neighbors was that they wanted to get rid of the husband in order to arrange a marriage with their daughter's "friend". As one of the more sarcastic neighbors put it, "If she is working as a cook, she must be working all night. She's pregnant." Something of the family's attitude towards the situation is apparent in the following conversation between the wife's mother and several of her neighbors.

[851] Mother: "Yesterday that man came again and said they were his children and carried his name, and so he wanted to take them home to live with him. I told him that if he wanted to take the children he had better go to the law courts. I said, 'I won't let you take them away that easily.' He doesn't really want the children. He just wants to take my daughter away. How could she be so good as to go with someone she doesn't even like?"

*583 marry into his wife's family," most women are very much opposed to
591 matrilocal marriages. As one young woman told us, "A man like that will
581 never make a good husband."

*584 But while most women are reluctant to make a matrilocal marriage,
591 the opposition is not nearly so intense as that to the sīm-pûa form of
581 marriage. It is more a matter of what they consider a good marriage,
less a matter of personal revulsion. Moreover, the parents are in a much stronger position in arranging a matrilocal marriage than a sīm-pûa marriage. In attempting to force a sīm-pûa marriage the parents must deal with their son as well as their daughter, while in the case of a matrilocal marriage they only need be concerned with making a daughter
*562 comply. In recent years at least, sons have been able to resist paren-
*584 tal pressure because of their potential economic independence, but
[464] daughters still cannot threaten with such an alternative. Although there are jobs for young women in textile mills and the drug factory, these do not pay enough to enable her to support herself. It is there-
[463] fore much easier for parents to force a daughter to comply. We know of only one case in which a young woman was able to dissuade her parents from their plan for a matrilocal marriage, and this case was exceptional because the girl had a very good job as a clerk in a Taipei bank. When her parents began to talk of a matrilocal marriage, she told them that she couldn't marry because married women were not allowed to work in the bank. When they nonetheless insisted upon her making such a marriage, she used her own wages to adopt a daughter and later a son. She was then able to argue that there was no point in her marrying. She

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien
Taiwan AD6

Since much of its growth took place
633 during the fifty-odd years of Japanese administration, Taipei is
341 weighted down with ugly though solid Japanese colonial architecture,
177 studious imitations of public buildings in the British colonies. Current shoddy attempts at sinification make them even less attractive. In some of the more expensive residential neighborhoods there are still beautiful examples of Japanese domestic architecture hidden behind
633 high brick walls. These residential streets, many of them unpaved and
363 all bordered by open sewer ditches, are peaceful, the quiet disturbed
[463] only by an occasional car, a squeaking pedi-cab, and the varied, melodic calls of passing peddlers, knife-sharpeners, and shoe-repairers. At night the soft clack-clack of the blind masseur's bamboo rattle is as natural as a bird's song.

The streets in the business section of the city are anything but peaceful. The great clattering, rattling buses seem to have no springs and no speed limits; automobiles, mainly in the form of taxis or military jeeps, use horns more frequently than brakes. Sidewalks and roadways alike are clogged with bicycles, pedi-cabs, and pedestrians who reverse direction, cut across traffic, or come to a complete halt without warning or apparent reason. Cartloads of bricks and logs drawn by sweating, straining men or ambling yellow oxen use the same lanes as buses hurtling forward at forty miles an hour.

633 Beyond the hustling downtown districts that sell the essential
361 luxuries to the wealthy are the Taiwanese sections of the city, areas of
369 commerce and residence, often combined, that seem both flimsy and timeless. There is architecture here too, but it would take a coldly disciplined observer to look above the busy life in the shops and the streets to evaluate the style of the buildings. Here is the real texture of a Chinese city. There is poverty, but not the thin, sour smell of
633 poverty in American cities. Tiny shops sell cheap, shoddy cotton
444 goods, coarse household basketry, and thin metal pots and pans. The
[354] owners' wives squat in front, fanning portable stoves of clay and coal
[262] dust, cooking the evening meal of vegetables and pork fat or, depending upon the day's business, only vegetables. Customers step over and
[954] around the children sleeping or playing amid the merchandise and on
[855] the sidewalks; they bargain with the shopkeeper's wife while the baby tied on her back sleeps peacefully through their rising and falling
633 voices. Few cars attempt the narrow lanes but pedi-cabs and bicycles
[363] thread in and around the pedestrians with a grace and speed that often ends in a squealing of brakes and shouted oaths. In the few arcades or
000

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

"He was very good to our family, and after he came to live with us, my father didn't dare gamble any more. He rented a boat for my father so that he could work ferrying people across the river. The first year he came to live with us, he spent a lot of money helping us because that was the year that my father and my grandfather and my grandmother all died, and he paid for all their funerals. The second year, I had my first child. This was my daughter, Gioq-ki. If it hadn't been for her, I would never have been able to live with him for so long because not long after she was born he began to go out with other women again. I wasn't as afraid of him then and so when I found out he had been with other women I would get mad and fight with him and then he would get really angry and go away. But he always came back, and that was because he wanted to see Gioq-ki. It seems strange that he should love her so much more than his sons [by Lim A-pou], but he did.

"When my younger brother was old enough to earn a living for my family, he moved me into a house in Tapu. He continued to give my family money though until after my brother got married. We lived in Tapu for eight years. During those years, we lived very well because he made a lot of money. He loved to have guests and on special occasions he would buy enough food to open a store. He had so many friends that you didn't know where to begin to count them.

"He could gather up a crew of workers very quickly and he was the head of workers in many different places. He did this kind of work until after the Restoration, and then he went into construction work. He got a lot of jobs moving factories and things like the winery back to where they had been before the war. The Japanese had moved them all up into the hills to save them from the American bombers. He was very much hated by the other people doing this kind of work because he always made the best bids and got the best jobs."

For a man who began with nothing, Lim Hue-lieng had risen far in terms of power and money by his early forties. It was at this time and, ironically, due to the moving of the winery back to Tapu that his career ended. The competition for this job had been more intense than usual, and Lim Hue-lieng's success even more resented. Lim Hue-lieng had probably not been completely fair in his methods because for some reason he agreed to share his profits on the job with some of his competitors. His admirers still prefer to think that this decision was his own, and only another example of his generosity, but this kind

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

252 Most village women are proud of their abilities as cooks.
462 Several village men are also extremely skilled, hiring out
[463] as cooks on special occasions and almost every village man can prepare an adequate meal. Some men cook quite often in their homes although their wives were considered the regular cooks. When a woman is working for wages on a job while the man is home early, he will often prepare dinner. Also, if a wife is sick, a man will substitute in the kitchen if there is no other adult female kinsman in the household. There are only a few men who have never substituted as cooks for their wives. Nevertheless, when a man cooks for either special occasions or as a substitute, women will almost always clean the kitchen and wash the dishes.

263 Peanut oil, ginger, soy sauce, red sauce, and
252 monosodium glutamate are important items in cooking. Most dishes are combinations of various ingredients and spices. It is often jokingly stated that no Chinese dish is composed of less than ten items. Cooking techniques include sauteing, deep frying, and steaming. Of course, boiling is important for soups.

271 Water can not be consumed without boiling it first.
272 Since Sanlei was a tea processing village, tea usually replaces plain boiled water. However, the tea is usually very weak and of poorer grades; a single set of tea leaves
273 was reused several times. Wine or beer is for special occasions only although there are a couple of men in the

264 fields, especially if the field is quite distant or the activity is a particularly demanding one such as harvesting or transplanting. The food may be carried in a tin or may be brought to the workers by a woman or a child.

178 262 511 Everyone agrees that the diet now is the best and richest in village history, both daily and especially for the Pai Pai (religious festivals, see Chapter VIII) on special days. It is often remarked by villagers and professional economist alike that one of the first things a Chinese peasant will do with increased income is improve his diet. "Engel's Law" states that in a subsistance economy, over half of the income will be spent on food. It does seem that Sanlei figures are still close to this 262 511 percentage of income spent on food. It also appears that the non-agricultural workers have a better and richer diet [463] than the farmers, although their net worth is much less. The poorest diets are in households which do not include a vigorous young to middle-aged man. The only exception 262 514 is the rich tea processor who farms by hiring labor. The poorer householders do obtain better food than their financial condition might warrant by the village custom of inviting guests on special days. There is no expectation that a poor man will invite a rich man to dinner. Conversely, a rich man should invite a poor man to eat. The poorer households benefit by the fact that one way a rich man earns prestige is in accordance with the number of guests he serves at a banquet.

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
[465] to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 [884] ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] [887] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old women. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

442 The tea processor sells his completed product to
439 wholesalers and retailers in Hsin Tien and Taipei traveling into the city once every two or three days during the
[443] busy season. Although there is a big wholesale market, each processor tries to build a network of regular retail or packaging customers to even out price fluctuations. These price changes may be quite large, leaving him in a precarious position. The tea processors and some of the larger tea growers become quite familiar with market conditions all over the world. One man from Erhlei was formerly part of a big wholesale firm in Hsin Tien and once traveled to mainland China and Japan on tea business. Some of the village tea recently went into a shipment of 100 cases to the United States and several different villagers told us about it when asking our help in encouraging the United States to buy more Talei Li tea. Taiwan's
[462] best market for tea at present is Morocco. Tea marketing demonstrates another facet of the division of labor in that relations with wholesale buyers and sellers are for men as is the management of a business.

462 The tea business and its development has undoubt-
463 edly improved the status of women. No reason can be found for the abundant use of women in growing tea, but early histories of Taiwan all stress the use of large numbers of girls to pick tea (Takakoshi, 1907:240; Davidson, 1903: 381-3). As tea growing technology diffused, the custom of

462 involving females spread with it. When it first came to
463 Talei Li, village women began to be employed in tea activities but for the busiest harvesting season, girls were brought to the area in work teams, some from as far as Mainland China. There were many tales told by village men about their sexual exploits with the tea girls who usually stayed in crude huts in the mountains during the busy harvesting season. In the late nineteen-thirties, the outside girls began to be slowly replaced by village women to the point that no outside teams have been used since 1949. This change keeps the wages in the village and also helps allow village women to be economic assets.

Oranges

245 The third major cash crop in the area is citrus
483 fruit, primarily oranges, but with a minor emphasis on pomelo. The potential income has not yet been realized in spite of heavy investments. As additional mountain land is developed or as old tea plants have expired, orange trees are planted. In the early nineteen-forties, tea profits were poor and tea farmers were searching for a new product with the help of the government. A Sanlei villager acquired knowledge of the techniques of growing oranges by working five years in an orchard 50 miles south of Taipei. When he returned to Sanlei, he wanted to try raising
[IM] oranges himself. The Japanese aided introduction of oranges by renting him a piece of mountain land at a very low

245 consulted with extension agents and the farmers' association. Other villagers are watching closely.

244 The village is close to Taipei and seemingly could
242 share in the truck garden market, but no village in the
474 immediate area other than one village, about two miles distant, participates. The latter was chosen by the farmers' association in Hsin Tien as a model village for vegetable production. After seeds, assistance, and guidance were provided by three technological experts who were assigned nearly full-time, the returns have been very high. The experts have withdrawn except for one who returns periodically for consultation as the innovated system is now self-generating. That is, it appears the village will continue to raise vegetables for the market without further stimulation.

Other villages have observed the techniques of growing and marketing vegetables but there has yet been little diffusion. The techniques are considered complex, the dangers of market fluctuation high, and the experience regarding potential damages by insect and weather nonexistent. There is interest however and the passage of time is likely to result in copying.

241 As can be seen in the detailed descriptions pro-
a 463 vided for growing other crops, farm technology is highly complex and villagers regard a skilled farmer as a master of a trade. Although anyone can do some farming tasks,

241 the necessary skill to make correct decisions takes con-
463 siderable time to acquire. One of the reasons for this is the fact that some problems appear rarely. The infrequency does not imply a lack of seriousness for the loss of a full crop only once every fifteen or twenty years is still a disaster. The infrequency of some kinds of problems does
241 delay the introduction of new crops. Moreover, this belief
463 that farming is a highly skilled trade inhibits the full
562 use of women. It is believed that women do not have sufficient time to learn all the skills because of their household responsibilities. Additionally, there are restrictions on male-female interaction and since an individual learns part of his farming skills by talking at length to other farmers, women are handicapped by the restrictions on communication with skilled farmers who are presently all males.

244 Sweet potatoes are important in the village, but
[231] were never grown for sale until recently. A small nearby dairy, one year old, keeps its cows inside a building and feeds them by hand. Sweet potato leaves are purchased from Sanlei villagers to supplement the hand-picked grass
[438] and commercial fodder. Four older men cultivate bamboo shoots, minor amounts of which go to the market in Hsin
443 Tian. Vegetables of various kinds are grown in the village although only a few are sold and those only through the

316 464 income after only about two weeks training. Only seven Sanlei villagers are full-time miners and one of these is a dynamiter who earns a salary of $100.00 per day. A man is usually introduced to a mining job by a relative or friend who takes responsibility for his on-the-job training.

• 463 In addition to the miners, there are many other kinds of occupational specialists in the Talei Li area such as the barber, carpenter, mason, bicycle repairman, 463 roofer, etc. It is a misconception to consider the Chinese 121 household as a semi-isolated self-sufficient unit. In addition to the penetrations of the government and the market, the high incidence of labor specialization restricts freedom of action for the typical householder. Throughout history, the village and its nearby market town constituted a clear example of the organic solidarity conceived by Durkheim. That is, there is a high level of labor specialization and interdependency. Each individual contributes his own special task activities, the sum total of which fulfill the needs of the collectivity as will be demonstrated.

The various kinds of occupational specialties for 463 which wages may be paid can be placed on a continuum. At 171 one end, the activity can only be performed by an expert; at the other, by anyone. For purposes of illustration, in America, only a doctor can perform operations or a lawyer,

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
483 and which are not. The community members exert social
829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

463 men (not in a group) told me that Kao Mu-li in the next
626 village was very good at that kind of work, if he was em-
123 ployed the job would last longer, and right now he was not busy. I immediately hired him to build my screen door and paid above standard rates for the job to make up for my inadvertent error. This price soon became common knowledge throughout the area.

463 Other similar examples were witnessed. The village
626 barber, Liao An-pei, was seeking a wife and during our stay, built a new house with one of its rooms designated for his shop. As the building neared completion, he believed he had spent too much money. Although he had hired a painter to put one coat of paint on the woodwork, he considered doing the second coat himself to save money. Since he had never painted before, he picked up a brush while the painter was putting on the first coat and painted a window sill. Everyone in the shop laughed at him and called others to come and see Liao An-pei painting. For days afterwards, although I could detect no difference in the comparative quality of the workmanship, visitors were shown the window-sill that Liao An-pei painted. This always brought a smile and often, an additional comical remark. Liao An-pei decided to omit the second coat until after he saved more money. He explained that business men had to be extra careful. Since almost every man in the village was his customer, if they got angry, he would lose

463 626 [305] business. He also explained that every villager had his haircuts in a barber shop and not at home. If a man was poor, he just got haircuts less often. Although Liao An-pei had a standard price, he did cut the hair of some village indigents at a discount or even free and no one seemingly abused the privilege. This kind of contribution was common in the village for the community was in some ways like a kinship group who took care of its own members when they needed help.

463 191 The occupations in Taiwan which are restricted to specialists are equivalent to those termed professions or trades in America. The trades include repairmen and the various building occupations such as painter, carpenter, mason, roofer, or plumber. In America, even when these are restricted, many householders will perform these tasks in their own homes. Government agencies have even institutionalized the practice by issuing "Homeowner's Permits" which allow an individual to do restricted work on his own home although it requires a registered tradesman such as a journeyman or master plumber to do the same job in any other home than his own. The typical American does more of these "do-it-yourself" activities in his own home than the typical Sanlei villager. There is one regular exception: the householder may help his hired specialist. For many tasks, I could detect no difference in the quality of the work of the expert in contrast to that of the homeowner.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
171 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[405] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter
earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker
wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[435] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and relatives. 463 Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei. 333

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien. 759

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2,000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei factory. 493 Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and 494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Pouti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
• 463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

463 most of the T'oulei business and vice versa for the
621 T'oulei electrician. Although it is now not considered a
628 direct exchange on a one-for-one basis as in barter, it is almost as if the two villages were trading services for there are felt obligations on each side. For most of the different kinds of technical services required in Sanlei there are regular known sources to be utilized with only a few alternatives. Going outside the boundaries, i.e., hiring an electrician from Hsin Tien instead of T'oulei for instance, will cause more comment and pressure than to do the job yourself. In a sense, Sanlei village may be perceived as a unit in a large system of units with which it engages in economic transactions. Although no single unit is self-sufficient, the larger collectivity could easily exist as a closed system in spite of the fact it is currently a part of a larger world market.

A Case of Technological Obsolescence

178 About 1935, a Mainlander who injured his foot in a
291 mine accident moved into Sanlei village to earn a living
472 since he could no longer work in the mines. As a boy in Fukien, he had learned to make the wooden clogs that were so popular in Taiwan. They were constructed of wood and sisal bands, both of which were available in the mountains near Sanlei. Since it was difficult for the Mainlander to travel to the mountains for the raw material and to town to sell the finished products, he brought two

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees although none have yet matured. The [454] family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 463 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in
465 the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a [434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

511 The family is renting a house and houseland up the [244] hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables [262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with [235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. [466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance [745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [583] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is 511 463 465 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

and fifteenth and the other, on the second and sixteenth. Some villagers claim the first pair is for gods, soldiers, and their horses and the second, for the Good Brothers but there is much disagreement over this contention. There is agreement that the first pair is primarily for worship by farmers and the second, for worship by businessmen. Most village households worship on one pair of days or the other but no household worships on all four days in any one month. If a household worships on the first day of the pair, it always worships again on its corresponding mate, i.e., if worship is made on the first day of the month, there will be worship again on the fifteenth, but not worship on the second or sixteenth, etc. However, a few households alternate the pair of holidays each month. For example, the Liao Chin-wei family who operate both a farm and a store worship on the first and the fifteenth of one month and on the second and sixteenth of the next.

In the past, most Sanlei families tended to worship on the first and fifteenth but currently, there is an increase in worship on the second and sixteenth accompanying the growing importance of business and mining. In the clothing factories, the owners provide the workers with a free lunch on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month as part of the ritual worship activities even though the factory itself is operating in terms of the solar calendar. Presently, over eighty-five per cent of the households in

Chapter IX: Cycles in Time

0001 The date for celebrating the traditional religious holidays is determined by the lunar calendar and the modern national holidays, i.e., Restoration Day, Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday, etc., by the solar calendar.

2 See Burkhardt (1955: Volume II, Appendix II) for a complete diagram of the Ten Celestial Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches which are combined to make the full sixty-year cycle which takes its name from the first term, chia tzu.

3 There are poems and short books which specify the nature of each of the animals much on the order of the astrological horoscopes in the West. Since an animal is repeated every twelfth year, the year of a man's animal is considered extra lucky.

[177] 4 Under the Japanese, there was a policy of celebrating solar New Year while the Chinese emphasize lunar New Year. In the latter part of the occupation, there was some celebration of both dates but in the village at present, little attention is paid to the solar New Year.

5 The particular date, exactly 105 days after the Winter Solstice, varies.

[196] 6 Repetition of a word changes it meaning in Chinese; in the case of nouns or adjectives for example, the strength of the power or quality is increased.

7 Normally, baths are only taken in the evening after dinner is over and the day's work is complete although most people wash in the morning.

8 Negative numbers are yang and positive numbers are yin in one scheme but more commonly, even numbers are yang and odd numbers are yin.

Chapter X: Summary and Conclusion

[463] 1 The only occupations traditionally open to women were concerned with procreation and sexual life: matchmaking, prostitution, procuressing, and midwifery (Lang,1946:42).

2 The data is recorded in a family history and another family history she is said to have brought up to date contains a sample as does a memorial board she is said to have prepared.

3 Naturally this ignores the obvious and necessary physiological differences between the two sexes.

4 This is based on an assumption that children were most likely in school between the ages of six and twelve.

[454] 5 A man in T'oulei once won a government lottery and invested the entire large amount in land.

6 There are many existing biographies of the emperor's consorts. For a review of palace intrigues occurring